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Some Correspondence of Maharaja Duleep Singh

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On January 20, 1942, Her Highness Princess Bamba Sutherland, the eldest daughter of His Highness Maharaja Duleep Singh, the last sovereign of the Panjab, in response to my request for any historical documents that she might have in her possession, was pleased to let me have some correspondence of the Maharaja bearing on his relations with the British Government in India and England. It contained twenty-four letters, both issued and received. These, added to a number of letters that I had collected from other sources, throw a flood of fresh light on the history of his life after the annexation of the Panjab, and deal with the following topics :—

(i) Disillusionment of Maharaja Duleep Singh "that he had been cheated out of his kingdom, and out of the private estates which his father [Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Panjab] had possessed."

(ii) Details of the ancestral private estates and property that he had inherited from his father, not as ruler of the kingdom of Lahore, but as a *Sardar* and head of the Sukkar-chakkia family.

(iii) The Maharaja's differences with the British Government in England and India on the interpretation of the terms of the Treaty of March 29, 1849, in respect of

(a) the confiscation of his private estates, jewels, and other property, of which there is no mention in the Treaty, and

(b) the amount of pension payable to him.

(iv) Restrictions as to the place of his residence in India after he had decided to leave England for good and settle down permanently in this country.

(v) His arrest and detention at Aden without a warrant, and his public renunciation of Christianity in favour of the faith of his ancestors.

Disillusionment of the Maharaja. The kingdom of Maharaja Duleep Singh, including the whole of the Panjab to the north and west of the rivers Beas and Ghara, and the North West Frontier Province was annexed to the British dominions in India on March 29, 1849, by Lord Dalhousie in consequence of the so-called Second Sikh War of 1848-49. The Maharaja was then only ten and a half years old, having been born on Bhadron 23, 1895 Bk., September 6-7, 1838 A.D., and had been since December 16, 1846, a ward of the British Government whose salaried nominee and agent, the British Resident at Lahore, actually ruled the kingdom on behalf of the British Government. The treaty (of Bharowal) of December 16, 1846, had placed full and final authority in all matters, civil and military, in the hands of the British Resident.

Article 2 of the Treaty had stipulated that "A British Officer with an efficient establishment of assistants shall be appointed by the Governor-General to remain at Lahore, *which officer shall have full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State.*" Article 7 provided that "A British Force of such strength and numbers, and in such positions as the Governor-General may think fit, shall remain at Lahore for the protection of the Maharaja and preservation of the peace of the country," with full liberty for the Governor-General, according to Article 8, "to occupy with British soldiers any fort or military post in the Lahore territories, the occupation of which may be deemed necessary by the British Government, for the security of the capital or *for maintaining the peace of the country.*" "The Lahore State shall pay to the British Government," said Article 9, "twenty-two lakhs of new Nanuck Shae rupees of full tail and weight per annum for the maintenance of this force, and to meet the expenses incurred by the British Government." "The provisions of this Engagement," under Article 11, "shall have effect during the minority of His Highness Maharaja Duleep Singh, and shall cease and terminate on His Highness attaining the full age of sixteen years, or on the 4th September of the year 1854."

According to the above Treaty the entire responsibility for the governance of the kingdom of Panjab during the minority of Maharaja Duleep Singh and maintenance of peace and order therein,

against all disturbances and rebellions, either by individual officials and servants of the kingdom or by all of them collectively, lay with the British Government who were paid by the kingdom of the Maharaja for "a British Force of such strength and numbers, and in such positions as the Governor-General may think fit...for the preservation of the peace of the country." And when the rebellion of Multan broke out, it was only a local insurrection of the Governor of Multan against the central Government at Lahore. The Lahore Darbar remained faithful to the terms of the Treaty and was devotedly attached and obedient to the British Resident who continued to stay undisturbed at the Sikh capital, controlling and directing, with full authority, all matters in every Department of the State. They co-operated with him with men, money and munitions of war, in the suppression of the rebellion. The Lahore Darbar was throughout under the impression that the British forces had gone against Multan on their behalf in the performance of their duty "for the preservation of the peace of the country...during the minority of His Highness Maharajah Duleep Singh." And never was an indication to the contrary given to the Lahore Darbar either by the British Resident or by the Governor-General. To the last the Governor-General did not even make the formal declaration of war against Maharaja Duleep Singh or the kingdom of Lahore. But in spite of all this Lord Dalhousie, taking undue advantage of the presence of the British troops in the Panjab and their being in possession of all positions of vantage in the kingdom, and regardless of all pledges and responsibilities of the British Government as the guardians of the Maharaja up to September 4, 1854, deposed their ward and annexed his territories to their own, with a view to carrying their frontier to the Khyber and other passes on the north west of India. [Vide *Akhbarat-i-Lahour-o-Multan*, P.I.H. R.C. 1947.]

He was then removed from the Panjab to Fategarh in the U.P. Brought up under Christian influence, he embraced that religion on March 8, 1853, eighteen months before he attained the full age of sixteen years. On April 19, 1854, he left for England. Throughout this period, and up to 1860 when he came to India to see his mother, Maharani Jind Kaur, he was entirely ignorant of his political relations with the British Government, of the circumstances under which he had been removed from the throne of the Panjab and deprived of his private estates, jewels and other property. Whatever might have been said by the political propagandists to give her a bad name for political purposes, the Maharani, according to *History of the Punjab*, 1846, Vol. II, "was a person of some accomplishments....being skilful in the use of her pen", and possessed

of a wonderful ability "to act with energy and spirit." Lord Dalhousie was terribly afraid of her qualities of head and heart. With her presence in the Panjab, he knew he could not easily cheat her son out of his kingdom and rob him of his private estates and properties. It was, therefore, that he had removed her from the country and put her in prison. And when Brigadier Mountain informed him of the anxiety of the Sikhs for her restoration, Dalhousie wrote to him in a private letter from Camp Ferozepur, dated January 31, 1849 :—

"My dear Mountain,

"The pretences of the Sikhs of their anxiety to get back the Ranee... are preposterous. And the more sincere they are, the stronger are the grounds for not acceding to them. She has the only manly understanding in the Punjab; and her restoration would furnish the only thing which is wanting to render the present movement" [the so-called Second Sikh War] "truly formidable, namely an object and a head.

"Trust me this is no time for going back or giving back or winking an eye lid.

Yrs. most sincerely,
Dalhousie."¹

With all the information that she was able to give him while in India, and during her stay in England, the Maharaja seems to have been disillusioned and set a-thinking about the treatment that he had received at the hands of his guardians. The influence of Maharani Jind Kaur on her son was soon felt by the Government in England and the Maharaja was prevailed upon to arrange for a separate house for her. But after her death on August 1, 1863, the Maharaja assiduously devoted himself to the study of the causes of his deposition, and collection of material about his private estates and property. He consulted his friends and legal advisers, and made representations to the Government. But with the passage of time the attitude of the Government of India, and consequently of the Government of England, became stiffer and stiffer. This resulted in the desperation of Maharaja Duleep Singh towards the end of eighteen-seventies. Writing on July 12, 1889, Col. G. B. Malletson says :—

"When I next saw him, about ten years ago, he told me he was the most miserable. His words were to the effect, that subsequently to Col. Oliphant's death, he had discovered that he

1. The original of this autograph letter is in the possession of the writer of this paper.

had been cheated out of his kingdom, and out of his private estates, which his father had possessed, and that he could get no settlement from the India Office, that he still hopes that he might ultimately succeed, but that the treatment he had received had well-nigh broken his heart."

By the beginning of eighteen-eighties he discovered that he could expect no justice from the Government. He, therefore, ventilated his grievances through the press. Writing on August 28, 1882, to the *Times*, London (August 31, 1882), the Maharaja said:—

"As the era of doing justice and restoration appears to have dawned, judging from the recent truly liberal and noble act of the present Liberal Government, headed by, now, the great Gladstone, the Just, I am encouraged to lay before the British nation, through the medium of the *Times* the injustice which I have suffered, in the hope that, although generosity may not be lavished upon me to the same extent as has been bestowed upon King Cetewayo, yet that some magnanimity might be shown towards me by this great Christian Empire.

[Then he gives historical details in support of his case.]

"1. Thus I have been most unjustly deprived of my kingdom, yielding, as shown by Lord Dalhousie's own computation in (I think) 1850, a surplus revenue of some £500,000, and no doubt now vastly exceeds that sum.

"2. I have also been prevented, unjustly, from receiving the rentals of my private estates (*vide* Prinsep's *History of the Sikhs*, compiled for the Government of India) in the Punjab, amounting to some £130,000 per annum, since 1849, although my private property is not confiscated by the terms of the annexation which I was compelled to sign by my guardians when I was a minor, and, therefore, I presume it is an illegal document, and I am still the lawful Sovereign of the Punjab; but this is of no moment, for I am quite content to be the subject of my Most Gracious Sovereign, no matter how it was brought about, for her graciousness towards me has been boundless.

"3. All my personal property has also been taken from me excepting £20,000 worth, which I was informed by the late Sir John Login was permitted to be taken with me to Futtehghur when I was exiled; and the rest, amounting to some £250,000, disposed of as stated before. What is still more unjust in my case is, that most of my servants who remained faithful to me were permitted to retain all their personal and

private property, and to enjoy the rentals of their landed estates (or *Jagheers*), given to them by me and my predecessors; whereas I, their master, who did not even lift up my little finger against the British nation, was not considered worthy to be treated on the same footing of equality with them, because, I suppose, my sin being that I happened to be the ward of a Christian power.

"The enormous British liberality permits a life stipend of £25,000 per annum, which is reduced by certain charges (known to the proper authorities) to some £13,000, to be paid to me from the revenues of India.

"Lately, an Act of Parliament has been passed by which, some months hence, the munificent sum of some £2,000 will be added to my above stated available income, but on the absolute condition that my estates must be sold at my death, thus causing my dearly-loved English home to be broken up, and compelling my descendants to seek some other asylum.

"A very meagre provision, considering of what and how I have been deprived, has also been made for my successors.

"If one righteous man was found in the two most wicked cities of the world, I pray God that at least one honourable, just and noble Englishman may be forthcoming out of this Christian land of liberty and justice to advocate my cause in Parliament, otherwise what chance have I of obtaining justice, considering that my despoiler, guardian, judge, advocate and jury is the British nation itself?

"Generous and Christian Englishmen, accord me a just and liberal treatment for the sake of the fair name of your nation, of which I have now the honour to be a naturalised member, for it is more blessed to give than to take.

"I have the honour to remain, Sir, Your most obliged servant,

DULEEP SINGH."

In further clarification of his case the Maharaja wrote in a subsequent letter of September 6, 1882:—

"I do not really appeal against the above arrangement ('whereby he will receive an addition of £2,000 to his annual income on the condition that his estates are sold at his death, in order to liquidate his liabilities and provide for his widow and children') but what I do certainly think unjust in it is that I am not permitted to repay during my life the loan which is to be made under it—£16,000 having already been advanced to me and I am thus forbidden to preserve, by a personal sacrifice,

their English home to my descendants. In April last I sent a cheque for £3,543, 14s., representing capital and compound interest at the rate of 5 per cent to the India Office, but it was returned to me.

... ..
 "But whether it is fatal to my case or not, I do press it, and maintain that after the ratification of the Bhyrowal Treaty I was a ward of the English nation, and that it was unjust on the part of the guardian to deprive me of my kingdom in consequence of a failure in the guardianship.

... ..
 "The English Law grants the accused the chance of proving himself not guilty, but I am condemned unheard : is this just?"
 —The *Times*, London, September 8, 1882.

His ancestral private estates and property. Maharaja Duleep Singh's father, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, was anointed with the *Tilak* of *Maharajaship* on the Baisakhi day of 1858 Bikrami, April 12, 1801, when he was acknowledged by all the important Sikh *Sardars* and *Missaldars*, and prominent Hindu and Muslim notables of the country, as their monarch. Before that he was only a *Sardar* or head of the Sukkar-chakkia *Misal* like his father, Sardar Maha Singh, and grandfather, Sardar Charhat Singh Sukkar-chakkia. All the estates inherited by Sardar Ranjit Singh Sukkar-chakkia from his ancestors, or that came to him by marriage or were otherwise acquired by him upto that date, or that fell to him by later marriages were his private property like any other movable and immovable property. All this Maharaja Duleep Singh had inherited as the acknowledged head of the Sukkar-chakkia family on the death of his brother Maharaja Sher Singh on September 15, 1843.

When the British Indian Government of Lord Dalhousie annexed the territories of the Panjab on March 29, 1849, and deposed Maharaja Duleep Singh and exiled him from the Panjab, the Government quietly took possession of his private estates, knowingly or otherwise, and amalgamated them with the territories of the State. It also confiscated most of his property in jewels, shawls, household furniture, wearing apparel, harness, fowling pieces and personal arms, armour, ornaments and miniatures of his father and brothers, and the ornaments and wearing apparel of his mother, step-mothers and sisters-in-law.

But, strange enough, the Secretary of State for India denied the existence of any private estate at all. Maharaja Duleep Singh, therefore, wished to come to India "to obtain exact particulars of

the landed estates which he had inherited from Runjeet Singh." But in reply to his letter of September 15, 1882, he was told by Lord Hartington in his letter of October 23, "that it is impossible that permission will be accorded you to visit the Punjab." He, therefore, wrote to his cousin Sardar Thakar Singh Sandhawalia for this information. In reply to the Maharaja's interrogations, Sardar Thakar Singh wrote to him a lengthy letter on November 9, 1883, giving him some details of the history of the family and a brief list of the estates of Sardars Charhat Singh and Maha Singh, and those of Maharaja Ranjit Singh before the kingdom of Lahore came into existence, and of the private estates of his deceased brothers, Maharajas Kharak Singh and Sher Singh, and nephew, Kanwar Nau-Nihal Singh.

The list of property compiled by Sardar Thakar Singh is divided into three parts.

Part I includes the *jageers* (a) of Sardar Charhat Singh in the Bist Jullundur Doab, the Bari Doab and to west of the river from Shahdara to Rawalpindi, except Wazirabad, Gujarat, Manchar, Sialkot and Jammu. The annual income, besides the salt mines income, was about Rs. 15,00,000.

(b) Of Sardar Maha Singh—Besides the above mentioned territories, the country to the west of Rawalpindi up to Margala, along with some parts of the Rachna, Bari and Bist Doabs including Jammu, Shakargarh, and the *pergannahs* of Berhampur, Dinanagar, Indora and Pathankot. The annual income besides the salt revenue, amounted to Rs. 40,00,000.

(c) Of Sardar (Maharaja) Ranjit Singh before his assuming the sovereign rank—Besides the above mentioned *jageers*, Lahore, Kasur, Sialkot, Wazirabad, Manchar and Gujarat, with an annual income, amounting to Rs. 55,00,000 in addition to the proprietary rights of all waste lands, forests, etc., and the lands, and also the *Mulkia* rights of the *jageer* villages.

(d) Of Maharajah Kharak Singh before being raised to the throne—Kalanaur, Narot, Fatehgarh, Numomur, Jalalabad Jattan, Sheikhpura and some villages in the vicinity of Pind Dadan Khan and other parts of the kingdom, with a total annual income of Rs. 12,40,000, and articles from Multan and Kashmir worth 3 lakhs annually.

(e) Of Prince Nau-Nihal Singh—Fatehgarh, Jund Bugdial, some *pergannahs* near Peshawar, and some villages in other parts of the kingdom, with a total annual income of Rs. 4,30,000, and articles from Multan and Kashmir worth 2 lakhs.

Besides these estates, all the Maharanis of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his sons and grandson held separate *jageers*, which had been confiscated by the British Indian Government, with the exception of very small portions of lands and pensions left to their dependants and relatives.

Part II includes the immovable property in lands, gardens, wells, buildings, etc., inherited by Maharaja Duleep Singh in the villages of Waen Puen, Sukkar Chak, Majitha, Raja Sansi, Dalipgarh, Shahzadapura and the town of Gujranwala, with mausoleums of the Maharaja's ancestors, father, brothers, nephew and other relatives, and houses, gardens, etc., etc., in the cities of Lahore and Amritsar, and in the towns of Tarn Taran, Sheikhpura, Dinanagar and Fategarh.

Part III includes a list of the movable property in jewels, etc., worth over 24 lakhs belonging to the step-mothers of Maharaja Duleep Singh and to the issueless widows of his brothers and nephew, which should have been rightfully secured for him by his British guardians but which, through their negligence, if not with their connivance, had either been taken possession of by unauthorised persons or otherwise squandered away.

But Maharaja Duleep Singh and his solicitors do not seem to have been satisfied with the details of these estates and movable and immovable property. They were neither complete nor clear. Sardar Thakar Singh had only given a rough idea. He could not make a full enquiry. He was not in the good books of the Panjab Government and could not, therefore, have access to its official records. On several of the *jageers* he could give practically no information at all. And he had written to Maharaja Duleep Singh in his above quoted letter of November 9, 1883, that "A precise and full account of these *jageers* can be obtained from Deena Nath's Office, and from Government Secretariat. These *Jageers* were very large in amount."

It was at this time that Lord Kimberley, the Secretary of State for India, in his letter of November 14, 1883, desired the Maharaja to specify more exactly than he had so far done the Estates to which he considered himself entitled. As the information supplied by Sardar Thakar Singh Sandhawalia, without any official documentary support, was not, perhaps, considered authenticated enough to stand the scrutiny of the hair-splitting legal and revenue experts, Messrs. Ferrar & Co., of Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, sent Mr. Talbot, a solicitor in their office, to India on behalf of Maharaja Duleep Singh to make fuller and more authenticated enquiry. Mr. Talbot's

enquiry, too, was limited by time at his disposal. He could visit the headquarters of only seven districts of the Panjab, viz., Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jehlum, Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Lahore. "At each the revenue records of a number of villages selected from a list prepared beforehand were examined. If there had been more time, the Record Offices of other districts, such as Shahpur and Rawalpindi, would have been visited and the records of many more villages in each district examined."

The result of Mr. Talbot's enquiry were compiled into a "*STATEMENT as to the Ancestral Estates of the Maharajah Duleep Singh*" and accompanied the letter that His Highness wrote to Lord Kimberley on March 10, 1885.

Having briefly explained his title to the private estates, that he had inherited from his ancestors, in the first four paragraphs of this letter, he says:—

"As to these my private estates and property, I wish to point out to your Lordship that the British Government in taking possession of them must be held to have done so for my benefit, seeing that at that time they were my acknowledged guardians.

"In August 1847 the Governor-General of India wrote to the Resident of Lahore as follows:—

'The Governor-General is bound to be guided by the obligations which the British Government has contracted when it consented to be the Guardian of the Young Prince during his minority.'

"The statement of property now sent is not exhaustive as time at the disposal of my agent was limited, but I trust it may be considered sufficient for the purpose of proving that such property did exist.

"Moreover I desire to say that in presenting this statement as to my rights I do not wish to insist in pushing these rights to their extreme limit, on the contrary, as I have stated on other occasions, I shall be satisfied with such fair and equitable compensation as shall enable me to carry out my plan of living in England upon the landed property purchased in my name in Suffolk provided that I am placed in possession of a sufficient income to enable me to do so without pecuniary embarrassment and in conformity to the high position to which I was born and which was confirmed to me by the Treaty of Lahore in 1849 and again personally assured to me by Her Majesty the Queen when I first took up abode in this country,

and provided also that my eldest son and other children are secured in their just inheritance after my death."

HIS DIFFERENCES WITH THE GOVERNMENT: (a) *regarding the confiscation of his private Estates and Property.* Having proved the existence of his private Estates and property at the time of the annexation of the kingdom of the Panjab to British Indian dominions in 1849, the Maharaja contended that the Government of India could not rightfully take possession of them, amalgamate them with the State territories or otherwise alienate them. They were the ancestral property of his father before he assumed the rank of kingship, and before the kingdom of Lahore came into existence. There was no mention of their confiscation in the Treaty of annexation. There are only two articles, 2 and 3, in that treaty which refer to the transfer of his property to the Government. Article 2 says that "All *property of the State*, of whatever description and wherever found, shall be confiscated to the Honourable East India Company in part payment of the debt due by the State of Lahore to the British Government and of the expenses of the war." The words "Property of the State" are quite significant and unambiguous. Out of the private property of the Maharaja, it was only the gem *Koh-i-Noor* that went to the Government and that too was surrendered by the Maharaja to the Queen and not confiscated or otherwise taken possession of by the Government. Article 3 clearly laid down that "the gem called the *Koh-i-Noor*, which was taken from Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk by Maharaja Runjeet Singh, shall be surrendered by the Maharaja of Lahore to the Queen of England."

"This shows that the *Koh-i-Noor*, and consequently also the other jewels and personal property of the Maharaja, were not considered to be state property. Notwithstanding this, with the exception of some of the value of £20,000 which he was permitted to take to Futtahgarh, and which were destroyed there in the Mutiny, the whole of the Maharaja's personal property and jewels of every description were taken possession of by the Government at annexation."

Writing to the Marquis of Salisbury, the Prime Minister of England, from Elvenden Hall, Thetford, Suffolk, on January 16, 1886, Maharaja Duleep Singh says :—

"This document makes no mention of a confiscation of any other property save that of the State. The inevitable result, therefore, is that all property not coming within this category is excluded from it—in other words, that it was not even contemplated by those who dictated the terms of my deposition

that my private manors or estates or jewels or personal property were to be touched. It may further be remembered that this result of the treaty is confirmed by the explicit provision made with reference to the destination of the *Koh-i-Noor*. If it was designed to confiscate any of my other private possessions, the names of these would also surely have been set forth. Even supposing that the confiscation of my private property could be vindicated by this document, I ask your Lordship to consider the exceptional position of responsibility which the British Government had assumed to myself. They had made me their ward, and their ward I was to remain for five years after the treaty of 1849. They had already failed to secure for the Punjab the peace and order which they had guaranteed to maintain by the Treaties of 1846. The Second Sikh War, as it is incorrectly styled, placed me under no fresh obligation of any kind to England. On the contrary, that war was largely due to English remissness."

HIS DIFFERENCES WITH THE GOVERNMENT: (b) regarding compensation for private Estates and property and the amount of pension payable to him.

It is not possible to make an exact estimate of the value, nay even the annual income, of the ancestral estates of the Maharaja that he inherited from his father, brother and nephew and their *Maharanis*. Excluding the *jageers* of the *Maharanis*, Sardar Thakar Singh roughly estimated the annual income of the other *jageers* as 77 lakh and 70 thousand rupees. He gave no idea of the value of the immovable property mentioned in part III, he estimated the property of only two *Maharanis* at Rs. 7 Lakh and 50 thousand.

According to Mr. Talbot's statement, the annual income of the villages enumerated by him was Rs. 2,04,994, 8½ annas or £20,499-9-0, "and this would", says the introductory chapter to the Statement, "if the enquiry had been complete, have been raised to a very much larger sum. That of the salt mines is about 40 lakhs of rupees, or £40,000 per annum, and the Government valuation of the land in the possession of Government belonging to the ancient *Kutra* of Maha Singh at Amritsar is Rs. 78,949 or £7,894-18-0 (taking the rupee at 2 S. in each case). The value of other *Kutra* in the same city has not been ascertained."

On the subject of the Maharaja's movable property and jewels, other than what he was allowed to take to Fategarh (most of which was destroyed during the mutiny), Mr. Talbot directed an inquiry

to the Secretary to the Government of the Panjab, but no information was furnished to him. Mr. Talbot, therefore, omitted all reference to the subject, though the Maharaja did not relinquish his claim to such property.

Taking the lowest available figures of Rs. 42,05,000, per annum quoted by Mr. Talbot from the official records of the Panjab Government, about the correctness of which there can be no doubt whatever, the total amount which was due to Maharaja Duleep Singh and which went to the treasury of the British Indian Government year after year for 36 years from 1849, when the Panjab was annexed, to 1885 when the Maharaja submitted his claim, works out to Rs. 15,13,80,000 or £15,138,000.

Added to this was the amount realised by the Government of India, by the sale of jewels and other property belonging to Maharaja Duleep Singh which were put up to auction by Messrs. Lattey Brothers and Mr. J. Hayes at Lahore in the years 1850 and 1851. After much search, in vain, in several quarters, the Maharaja was able to get copies of the catalogues of only two sales. Of these the first is headed "Catalogue of the Seventh Public Sale," so that there must have been six previous sales, the second, two months afterwards, appears to be the final sale.

No record had been found of the sum of money realised by these sales, "and it is not possible at this distance of time, and with only two out of several catalogues to refer to, to ascertain, even approximately, the value of the property thus sold. but it is evident that it must have been enormous. The only facts obtained as to the prices realized by the sales are that 95 items of the second catalogue realized Rs. 1,39,287. There are 952 items in this catalogue, so that it seems probable that the whole purchase-money amounted to upwards of Rs. 10,00,000, or £ 100,000. As there were, at least, seven other sales, it would not be very extravagant to put the whole sum realized by the property at half a million of money.

"It is hardly necessary to observe that it is highly improbable that sales by auction at.....Lahore could have realized the full value of property of valuable nature, especially as so many sales were held in so short a time.

"Independently of the money value, it may well be asked what right the British Government could have to dispose of historical heirlooms belonging to the Maharajah, who was its ward, whilst he was an infant, without even asking his consent, considering the exceptional interest he would have subsequently experienced in

the possession of his father's portrait and personal accoutrements when he came to years of responsibility and full maturity."

The grand total of the amounts due to Maharaja Duleep Singh up to March 31, 1885, comes to at least Rs. 15,63,80,000 or £ 15,638,000.

But inspite of all this, the Government gave no compensation to Maharaja Duleep Singh. It was only for his loss at Fategarh during the Mutiny that the Government offered an amount of £ 3,000, which he refused to accept.

Now about the amount of pension payable to him. Article IV of the Treaty of Lahore of March 29, 1849, had provided that "His Highness Duleep Singh shall receive from the Honorable East India Company, for the support of himself, his relatives and servants of the State, a pension of not less than four, and not exceeding five lakhs of Company's rupees per annum."

The payments actually made to the Maharaja were as follows :

From 1849 to 1856	..	£ 12,000 per annum.
1856 to 1858	..	£ 15,000 "
1858 onwards	..	£ 25,000 "

Besides the payments to the Maharaja, allowances to relatives or dependents to the extent of about £ 18,000 (at the commencement) were made by the Government and debited to the Maharaja. These allowances began in 1849 and were continued during the lives of the recipients. As each recipient died off, his allowance, of course, ceased, so that in 1859 the annual amount paid appears to have been reduced to about £ 15,000 and dwindled rapidly. According to Maharaja Duleep Singh's estimate in January 1886, "the amount paid is not more than £ 4,000 or £ 5,000 per annum." He claimed that the undisbursed balance, which went to the Government exchequer and accumulated there, belonged to him and should be placed at his disposal. The Government on the other hand contended that he was entitled only to such a portion of the pension as was allotted to himself personally as mentioned in article V of the Treaty of March 29, 1849.

The Government, however, indirectly accepted the contention of the Maharaja, as when, in 1862, the Government advanced to the Maharaja "a sum for the purchase of an estate, the advance was not in excess of the Government savings." But there was a change for the worse after that, and the Maharaja had to pay interest at the rate of 4 and 5 per cent on advances made to him

later on, for the purchase of property in Suffolk. But the Maharaja felt worst hit and most unjustly treated when Government decided that no son of his would inherit the Elveden (Suffolk) Estate and that his settled estates were to be sold free and money divided amongst his children. And in the words of the Maharaja, "the only allowance reserved for my widow and children is to come out of the money realized by the sale of my estates in England, of my insurance moneys, and of the sum of £ 72,000 East India Stock." (*Vide* Maharaja Duleep Singh to Lord Salisbury, January 16, 1886).

After referring to the respect and honour, and greatest kindness that he received from Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and the admission of the justice of his claims by the highest representatives of the British State, Maharaja Duleep Singh thus concludes his lengthy letter of January 16, 1886, to the Marquis of Salisbury:—

"All this has led to no satisfactory result in my favour in a material sense; and I find myself now compelled, in consequence of the insufficiency of my income, to break up my home, interrupt the education of my children and to leave England.

"Not to weary your Lordship by a longer recital of my grievances, I will come to the object of this letter in a few words.

"There are wrongs which can and those which cannot be remedied.

"I do not aspire to be reinstated on the throne of the Punjab.

"I do not even expect the realization of the whole of what I consider my just claims.

"Moreover, I am not now asking your Lordship to admit any of my claims, though it has been necessary for me to explain them to your Lordship to make my meaning clear.

"I know also that your Lordship, not being now the Secretary of State for India (though you formerly held that office) is not in a position to deal with a question of finance belonging to that department.

"But I address your Lordship as the Prime Minister of this great country in a matter which was considered at one time to be of national importance, and which concerns the honour of the parties concerned.

"If the subject of my complaint were a difference between private individuals, it could be settled in the law courts, but being a matter of State, I am advised that the courts of this country are not open to me.

"I ask your Lordship, therefore, to exert the influence and authority of your high position to provide some machinery for examining and dealing with my claims, and putting them in train for equitable settlement. It cannot, I venture to think, be more satisfactory of your Lordship's mind than it is to my own that the Government should remain under the imputation of having arbitrarily deprived even an individual no more important than myself of his rights, without inquiry and without redress.

"A fair and honest inquiry, by the highest legal authorities in your Lordship's House, I think, is due to me, especially as to the residue of the pension over and above the £ 25,000 a year paid to me, which has now lapsed, and should be paid over to me (as a very high legal authority thinks after reading the Treaty very carefully).

"I need not say that I court the fullest legal investigation and should much desire a decision by a Court of Arbitration consisting of the eminent Law Lords of the House of Peers.

"I shall be willing to be bound by the equitable award of such a Court if they take my whole case into their consideration, and to accept it as a satisfactory termination of all my differences, even if it should turn out to be unfavourable to my expectations.

"I make this last appeal to your Lordship before finally taking leave of this country."

The Marquis of Salisbury set up no Court of Arbitration in response to the appeal of Maharaja Duleep Singh, and the Foreign Office sent to him the following reply on January 25, 1886 :—

"Sir,—I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to inform you that he has carefully considered the memorandum which you were good enough to place in his hands, and also the printed book which he herewith returns. He regrets very much that he is not in a position to accede to the request with which your memorandum concludes.

"Subject to any appeal to a court of law which you may be advised is open to you, the disposal of all questions involving any charge upon Indian finances is placed by Act of Parliament

in the hands of the Secretary of State for India and the Council of India, and cannot be assumed by any other authority.

“The determination of the question raised by you with respect to the meaning of the Treaty entered into by Lord Dalhousie thirty years ago, and import of the words “Property of the State” used upon that occasion, could not be satisfactorily arrived at by any authority in this country even if there was one which, under existing law, possessed the necessary competence, and I have no doubt that the Secretary of the State and his Council have both the power and the wish to arrive at a just decision in regard to these controverted matters.”

Restrictions on his residence in India. But the Secretary of State for India he had already tried. There was no hope of justice left for him. Disappointed and helpless, he ultimately decided to leave for India. But while the Government of England allowed him to break up his home and wind up his affairs in that country, the doors of his mother country were closed at him and he was not allowed to enter it by the British Government in India. The restrictions placed on the residence of Maharaja Duleep Singh in India have a history of their own dating back to 1849. Article V of the Treaty of annexation had laid down that “His Highness shall be treated with respect and honour, and shall retain the title of Maharajah Duleep Singh Bahadoor, and he shall continue to receive during his life such portion of the above named pension as may be allotted to himself personally, provided he shall remain obedient to the British Government, and shall reside at such place as the Governor-General of India may select.” The Maharaja had not yet completed the ninth year of his age and his mother, Maharani Jind Kaur, was removed from Lahore and confined in the fort of Sheikupura on Bhodon 5, 1904 Bk., August 19, 1847. Nine months later, in May 1848, she was removed from the fort of Sheikupura to the fort of Chunar (in the district of Mirzapur) near Benares. Within nine months after the annexation of his dominions to British India, Maharaja Duleep Singh himself was exiled from the Panjab on December 21, 1849, and taken to Fategarh in the district of Farukhabad, U. P. While yet a minor, he left for England in April 1854.

The Maharaja wished to return to India in October, 1857. He, therefore, addressed a letter to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company on December 9, 1856, saying :—

“Gentlemen,—Having now attained an age at which, according to the Laws of India, I am entitled to assume the

management of my own affairs, and being anxious before my intended departure for India in October next to have everything relating to my future position clearly defined and settled, I have to request the favour of you, at your earliest convenience, to bring the subject to the notice of the Honourable Court of Directors. * * * *

"There are, nevertheless, certain restrictions as to residence imposed upon me by treaty which, however prudent at the time, are now, in my altered circumstances, felt to be irksome...."

To this the Secretary, Mr. James C. Melvill, replied on February 19, 1857, as follows :—

"I am commanded to state in reply that the Court have observed with great satisfaction the excellent disposition manifested by your Highness during your stay in England, and are prepared to relieve you from all restriction as to residence."

But the mutiny of 1857 upset his plans.

In 1860 Maharaja Duleep Singh came to India to seek his mother, who had escaped from her captivity in the fort of Chunar to Nepal and had been permitted to meet her son. The mother and son met after thirteen long years. The Maharani had suffered much and her health was hopelessly impaired. She had become almost blind, not from age, as she was only forty-three then, but from ill-health aggravated by grief and disappointment. The Maharaja wished to stay with her in India for some time. He could not do so. Even the Maharani was not permitted to reside in India. The Government of India refused to restore her private property, chiefly in jewels, which was in their hands, unless she chose a place out of India for her residence. Ceylon was mentioned as the nearest place which would be permitted. This caused the Maharaja to return to England, with his mother who would not separate from him.

Maharani Jind Kaur died on August 1, 1863. She had been a fond and faithful mother to him, and he sincerely lamented her loss. In fulfilment of her last wishes "not to allow her bones to rot in a heartless country (*meriān haddiān is nirdai dharti 'ch nā rul jān*)", the Maharaja wished to come home to return her dust to the dust of India. In reply to his request of January 9, 1864, for permission, he was told by the India Office, London, on January 13, that "on your arrival in India it will be necessary that you should regulate your movements in conformity with the wishes and instructions of His Excellency the Viceroy, which will be communicated to you, in the first instance, through the Governor of Bombay." The

Maharaja was helpless. He was not allowed to come to the Panjab to perform the obsequies of his mother. He, therefore, cremated her body, which he had brought all the way from England at great expense, at Nasik, on the left bank of the Godavari, and returned to England.

In 1882, the Maharaja, as we know, wished to visit India to collect information regarding his private estates, and he wrote to the Marquis of Hartington on July 21, saying :—

“I presume, as I am now a naturalised Englishman, there is no legal difficulty to my returning to the Punjab, either to get information regarding my private landed estates, &c., or to reside there altogether.”

In reply the Marquis of Hartington in his letter of October 23, 1882, not only repeated the restrictions of January 13, 1864, but added “that it is improbable that permission will be accorded you to visit the Punjab.”

In the summer of 1883, the Maharaja finally decided to leave England for good. He had lost all faith in the British Government both in England and India. He had become a naturalised Englishman and he had been relieved “from all restriction as to residence” by the Court of Directors of the East India Company on whose behalf the treaty of 1849 had been entered into with him by Lord Dalhousie who had imposed the restriction. Yet he was condemned to perpetual banishment from his mother country. The resistance of the British Government to his desire intensified his wish not only to return to the land of his birth but also to the faith of his ancestors.

“On August 23, 1884, he announced his departure for India, as he could not otherwise undergo all the rights of re-initiation as a Sikh.” If he continued to stay on for some time more and placed his claims before the Earl of Kimberley, the Secretary of State for India, and the Marquis of Salisbury, the Prime Minister of England, in his despatches of March 10, 1885, and January 16, 1886, respectively, it was evidently to exhaust all constitutional means available to him for an equitable settlement of his differences before quitting the land of his adoption.

On April 21, 1885, the Maharaja begged of Lord Kimberley “to inform the Government of India that it is my intention to join the British army as a volunteer, should unfortunately a war break out between England and Russia. I am determined not to be deterred from this resolve (unless physical force is employed by

the India Government), and to convince the British nation that, however unjustly treated, I am at heart loyal to my gracious Sovereign." However, the Maharaja did not pursue the subject "as fortunately the threatened war seems to be averted for the present. I desire to inform your Lordship and the Council of the India Board, that I am by no means prepared to give up my rights as a British subject, or to submit to any restrictions upon my movements, either here or in India, or any other portion of Her Majesty's dominions.

"My present wish and intention is to sell my estates in Suffolk, for the reasons already stated to Her Majesty's Government, and to take up my residence at Delhi, retiring to the Hills in the hot season."

Writing to Lord Randolph Churchill at the India Office on October 7, 1885, the Maharaja told him "I am leaving England for my position here has become untenable owing to various reasons, in order to provide my family with such a home in India as shall not be sold at my death."

On the same day the Maharaja wrote to his cousin, Sardar Sant Singh of Aima, Amritsar district, saying "I shall leave England on the 16th of December next and take up my residence quietly at Delhi for I am poor now. . . . As you are aware by this time that I have rejoined the faith of my ancestors, I salute you with *Wah-Gooroo jee dee Futteh*."

But as Lord Churchill also had required him in his letter of October 15 to obey the orders of the Viceroy regarding his residence, the Maharaja, on October 20, desired "to be informed whether force will be employed to compel me to reside wherever the Viceroy of India shall appoint, and prevent my travelling without His Excellency's permission, or whether my freedom and rights as a British subject are under the protection of law, and what would be the consequences of my refusal to comply with the arbitrary dictates of the Viceroy or of His Majesty's Government." In reply he was informed by Lord Churchill on October 26 that it rested with the Viceroy of India.

Fearing lest the British Government should be suspecting his object in returning to India, the Maharaja again wrote to Lord Churchill on November 2, 1885:—

"I further desire to state that...my object in leaving England is to provide such a home for my descendants as will not be sold after my death, and by economy and other modes

to make the best provision I can for them, during my life, with the resources at my disposal, and that on reaching Bombay I will proceed to Delhi with that intention, leaving it to His Excellency the Viceroy to employ force, if he thinks proper to do so, in order to prevent my travelling to that city.

“But it does not say much for the supposed stability of the British Raj when the Government think it necessary to impose restrictions on the movements of such as I, who neither possess any army nor money to cause any trouble with.”

On November 30, Lord Churchill informed the Maharaja that the Government of India required him to reside at Ootacamund or some other place in the Madras Presidency, “and that Your Highness will not be permitted to visit the Punjab.”

The Maharaja had an interview with the Earl of Kimberley on February 8, 1886, and assured him, as he confirmed it in his letter of the 10th, that “My sole object in returning to India is to lay by money for my family, while myself fully enjoying the comforts I have been accustomed to all my life, and Delhi presents the best field for the purpose.” But nothing could make the British Government in India to take a humane and sympathetic view of the helplessness of Maharaja Duleep Singh, once the Sovereign of the Panjab and a ward of theirs. And ultimately, much against his will, but in the interest of his family for whom he was prepared to make every sacrifice, he consented to live at Ootacamund.

On March 9, he wrote the following letter to his cousin, Sardar Sant Singh of Aima :—

“My dear Sardar jee, *Wah Gooroo jee dee Futteh*. I am very pleased to receive your letter, but I advise you not to come near me without permission of Government as you might get into trouble with the authorities.

“I intend to leave England with my family on the 31st of this month, but it is possible a little longer delay may occur.

“I need not tell you how pleased I shall be (if the Government permits) for you to be present at my receiving ‘*powhl*’ which I trust my cousin Thakar Singh Sindhanwalia will administer to me.

“I am now longing to return to India although Government are afraid to let me reside in the North West Provinces and desire me to live at Ootacamund, but I put my faith entirely in *Sutgooroo* who, now that I return to him for forgiveness, I know, will not forsake me.”

His next available letter that he wrote before sailing for India is addressed to his 'beloved countrymen', the people of the Panjab. It reads as follows:—

"My beloved countrymen,

It was not my intention ever to return to reside in India, but Sutgooroo, who governs all destiny, and is more powerful than I, his erring creature, has caused circumstances to be so brought about that, against my will, I am compelled to quit England in order to occupy a humble sphere in India. I submit to His will, being persuaded that whatever is for the best will happen.

"I now, therefore, beg forgiveness of you, *Khalsa Jee* or the Pure, for having forsaken the faith of my ancestors for a foreign religion, but I was very young when I embraced Christianity.

"It is my fond desire on reaching Bombay to take the *Pahul* again, and I sincerely hope for your prayers to the Sutgooroo on that solemn occasion.

"I am compelled to write this to you because I am not permitted to visit you in the Punjab, as I had much hoped to do.

"Truly a noble reward for my unswerving loyalty to the Empress of India! But *Sutgooroo's* will be done.

"With *Wah Gooroo Jee Kee Futteh*,

I remain,
My beloved countrymen,
your own flesh and blood,
Duleep Singh."

His arrest at Aden. The Viceroy, it appears, had no intention of allowing Maharaja Duleep Singh to return to India and reside here. The talk of restrictions on his movements was only a ruse to dissuade him from his intended departure from England. But as he could not otherwise be thwarted, he was arrested and detained at Aden and was ordered to go back.

The Maharaja was very furious at the insult put on him. He threw in the face of the British Government the pension he had hitherto drawn, left his wife and children in their hands to support, and abjured his allegiance to the British Crown. On his way back to Europe he issued a statement to the press wherein, among other things, he said:—

"Although I am a naturalised Englishman, yet I was arrested at Aden without a warrant, one having been issued since I re-embraced Sikhism while staying at Aden. Before quitting England, the Indian Government in great trepidation offered me £ 50,000 in full discharge of all claims upon it, provided I promised never to return to India, but I declined this offer as I would not accept £ 50,000 to give a receipt in full. My health having broken down through residence at Aden, I am now travelling on my way back to Europe in order to drink the German waters. Although the Indian Government succeeded in preventing me from reaching Bombay lately, yet they are not able to close all the roads that there are to India, for when I return I can either land at Goa or Pondicherry, or if I fancy an over-land route, then I can enter the Punjab through Russia. In that event, I suppose the whole of the British army would be sent out, as well as the assistance of our ally, the Ameer, invoked to resist the coming of a single individual, viz., myself. What a wonderful spectacle: The Tax-payer of India, no doubt, will be glad that I have resigned the miserable stipend paid to me under that iniquitous treaty of annexation which was extorted from me by my guardian when I was a minor, thus setting aside the illegal document entirely. As soon as I am restored to health, I hope to appeal for pecuniary aid to the Oriental liberality of both my brother princes as well as the people of India. Should, however, the Government place its veto upon their generous impulse, then I shall have no alternative but to transfer my allegiance to some other European power, who I dare say will provide for my maintenance."

For over seven years after his return to Europe Maharaja Duleep Singh looked in vain for some European power to help him, and, ultimately, died as an exile in Paris on October 22, 1893.